/969 cont./

422 this method of procedure by our Yamana on two occasions. Once he bartered tobacco with a man for a dog, but since the dog belonged to the man's wife, she forced Fitz-Roy to give the animal back to her. Snow (b):264 also confirms from his own experience: "I believe they have a sort of property right amongst them, and I have seen one of the oldest women exercising authority over the rest of her people. Wishing to buy a canoe, it was refused me on the ground that it belonged to her, and she would not part with it" /cited in English/.

Every Yamana is completely free to take good care of his property or to neglect it completely. No one even prevents him from wantonly destroying his things. If he lacks something he must personally look around for a replacement. Objects that are [425] found may not be appropriated by the finder, and if he nevertheless keeps them, he risks being labeled a thief. Whatever a person has owned in life /970/ remains his after his death. That is [768] why the belongings of a deceased person are burned and destroyed, inasmuch as no one could legally take them as his property. One does not even encroach upon a dead owner's right to his personal [428] property. The Yamana are unacquainted with the actual inheritance of anything whatever.

β. Family Property

422 593 Since every person owns his individual property, he also brings it with him into his marriage, without, however, giving up his exclusive right to it. He uses each article freely and without hindrance and replaces for himself anything and everything that has become unserviceable or is lost. As we have just said, one of the partners in marriage would not dare, at his own discretion, to dispose of an object belonging to the other partner.

423 593 When a marriage takes place, a new configuration of life is always begun, for the family forms a very compact economic unit. The word "family" is used here in its narrower sense, namely, as the social unit of father, mother, and unmarried children. The new configuration of life also demands its own right to certain implements common to the union as such. The solidarity of family

/975 cont./

425 423 We know that the large territory of the Yamana is divided into five zones with boundaries (p. 199 /untranslated/) which also apply to the right of free food-seeking. Within one's home territory he has free access to everything that nature supplies, but if he goes into neighboring territory and there takes possession of something for his own use, he must be able to justify it. Obvious scarcity of the necessities of life in his more limited home territory or the stranding of a whale affords such justification. A friendly visit is also sufficient reason, for sometimes someone marries into another dialect group from which his nearest kin occasionally visit him. The stranger would not be able to stay too long in the neighboring territory without /976/ arousing displeasure among the local residents and even evoking grave hostility (388). Hence, there, too,

388. I believe that this is the meaning of the following words of Bridges in Hyades (j):180: "The natives dare not go to places where they do not have friends or where they are not known, for they would probably be killed" /translated from French/.

everyone makes himself the owner of whatever he directly confiscates as ownerless property. The members of each dialect group, however, regard themselves as having priority over all natural stores and animals in their local area.

425 When the rightful owner of an object hands it over to another person, he relinquishes his right of ownership and it passes to the other person. The free decision of the owner himself is required in such cases. The Yamana are unacquainted with an actual hereditary right in the sense that certain descendants can legally take over the possessions of an owner after his death, simply because of their kinship with him. Actually, when a person dies, everything he has owned is purposely destroyed by fire because no one has a right to it as such. Anyone who has received something from another person is keeping it for him soon returns it (389), simply because the

389. Snow (s):1, 345 confirms this from his own observations: "Several times I procured

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437 rency of any kind, and no weights or measures. Barter was carried
439 on among the *Yahgan* themselves, with the *Ona* and *Alacaluf*, and
[304] with the Whites. Barter by exchange of presents was common; a
[486] gift was made, regardless often of the wishes of the recipient, who could not refuse it without affronting the giver, and who was definitely expected to give something in return.

768 Inheritance played a very minor role. Much or most of the de-
428 ceased's property was burnt with the body. The person's dog fell to the eldest son or other near relative or acquaintance. Some of the more valuable or useful property might be bartered or given away to distant persons. Such burning, bartering, and giving away were intended to take from sight what would cause sorrow to the survivors by reminding them of the beloved departed, and to signify the survivors' desire not to profit by the death.

685 Stealing was considered decidedly reprehensible; but thefts actually occurred, even among their own people, not as daily matters, so to speak, but it would seem, not very uncommonly. A habitual thief, who failed to reform, was in the end boycotted—a severe punishment under *Yahgan* living conditions.

594 Generous sharing of food with kin and friends was the rule. Hospitality was extended as a matter of course.

46 Labor.—Neither wage nor slave labor existed. There was a little, but not much, labor in common. Each family was a relatively independent economic unit. The division of labor was almost exclusively a sexual one, with no organized or unorganized craftsmen making their living by specialized trades.

462 The man's task was to hunt marine mammals, otter, guanaco, and birds, to make his own weapons, to build and repair the canoe, to do the harder work in hut building. The woman's task was to care for the younger children, to cook, tend the fire and look after the hut generally, to paddle and have general management of the canoe in which the family spent so much of its time, to do all the skinwork and leatherwork, such as preparing skins, sewing clothing, and making skin bags and pouches, to make baskets, and, last but not least, to collect mussels, much of the fish and other sea food, eggs, fungi, and berries.
[262] Since mussels were the chief food resource, the woman's part as provider was an extremely important one.

[522] Probably her crucial role as food provider had a good deal to do with her relatively high status in *Yahgan* society. Certain tasks fell to man and woman jointly, such as building the hut, and hunting from the canoe, when the man did the killing while the woman maneuvered the craft. All in all, if we take into account *Yahgan* living conditions, although the list of women's tasks is longer than that of the men's, actually the sexual division of labor appears to have been a fairly equitable one.